

Trade Act, or similar future Congressional enactments) that enforced the GATT agreements for decades before the establishment of the WTO, and that managed the U.S.-China bilateral trade relation for the last 21 years. Those tools, if retained by a Congressional vote against PNTR and implemented consistently, will provide the basis for adequately disciplining China in its bilateral trade relationship with the United States.

Indeed, prior to the Clinton Administration's current campaign to enact PNTR, Charlene Barshefsky repeatedly testified to Congress that the credible threat of United States unilateral sanctions were indispensable to ensure that China implemented any trade concessions it might make. Such testimony based on actual experience weakens Jackson's prediction that abandonment of bilateral disciplines will serve U.S. interests in its future trade relations with China. Today, China remains heavily dependent on access to United States markets, in order to maintain the economic growth that is the single most important prop to the current Chinese regime. Chinese exports into the U.S. market are vital to the Chinese regime, while U.S. exports and investment into the Chinese market are trivial relative to U.S. domestic and international economic activity. China is therefore quite susceptible to the kind of United States bilateral tools that enforced the GATT system and U.S.-China bilateral trade deals for decades, if those tools are effectively and consistently deployed.

In fact, if China joins the WTO and Congress votes against PNTR, China will be subject both to bilateral disciplines by the United States and to WTO multilateral disciplines by Europe, Japan, and other WTO members. Furthermore, if the WTO resolves any disputes against China in a way that affords economic benefits to our competitors, the United States is also entitled to receive those benefits, since the 1979 Bilateral Agreement requires China to grant to the United States any benefits it grants to third countries.

The first "procedural" concern ignored by Jackson—unilateral disarmament by the United States—is compounded by a second. The WTO is an intergovernmental organization that operates by negotiated consensus. The world's most powerful countries play a disproportionate role in shaping that consensus. Upon joining the WTO, China—the world's largest Police State—will therefore have a powerful vote, and an effective veto, in any future WTO efforts to reform the ground rules of global markets.

In other words, China will be authorized to block any proposals—of the kind supported in Seattle by the Clinton Administration itself—to add basic human, labor, and environmental rights to the WTO system. This would mark a significant set-back for all those individuals, governments, and non-governmental organizations who aspire to ensure that the rules of the global economy protect not only commercial rights but fundamental personal and social rights.

In sum: At a minimum, Ms. Barshefsky greatly understates the economic concessions which China will remain legally obligated to grant the United States if Congress votes against PNTR; and Professor Jackson greatly overstates the net benefits to the United States, in terms of capacity to enforce United States interests, if Congress votes for PNTR and the United States enters a "binding WTO relationship" with China.

Equally important, Ms. Barshefsky and Professor Jackson both examine only one

side of the scale—namely, the potential benefits to United States commercial interests. They do not examine the costs of U.S. abandonment of all trade-related enforcement measures—multilateral or unilateral—aimed toward ensuring that the global regime protects fundamental individual rights of autonomy and associated, and safeguards distributive justice and social wellbeing of a sort that cannot be measured by maximization of corporate shareholder returns or aggregate monetary wealth.

The "cost" side of the scale is all the weightier, relatively speaking, once Ms. Barshefsky's and Professor Jackson's overstatement of the commercial "benefits" of PNTR is fully recognized.

In deciding which way to vote on PNTR, our Representatives should at least have an accurate understanding of the costs and benefits they must weigh.

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. McNULTY (at the request of Mr. GEPHARDT) for today on account of personal business.

Mr. STUPAK (at the request of Mr. GEPHARDT) for today and May 23 on account of family matters.

Mr. WEINER (at the request of Mr. GEPHARDT) for today and May 23 on account of a death in the family.

Mr. SCARBOROUGH (at the request of Mr. ARMEY) for today on account of canceled flights due to inclement weather.

#### SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. DEFAZIO) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. HINCHEY, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. GONZALEZ, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. McINNIS) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. McINNIS, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. NETHERCUTT, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. HULSHOF, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. PAUL, for 5 minutes, today.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. NORWOOD. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 9 o'clock and 44 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, May 23, 2000, at 9 a.m., for morning hour debates.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 8 of rule XII, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

7736. A letter from the Acting Executive Director, Commodity Futures Trading Commission, transmitting the Commission's final rule—Minimum Financial Requirements for Futures Commission Merchants and Introducing Brokers (RIN: 3038-AB51) received April 24, 2000, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Agriculture.

7737. A letter from the Congressional Review Coordinator, Department of Agriculture, transmitting the Department's final rule—Change in Disease Status of the Republic of South Africa Because of Foot-and-Mouth Disease and Rinderpest [Docket No. 98-029-2] received April 19, 2000, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Agriculture.

7738. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Pyridate; Pesticide Tolerance [OPP-300989; FRL-6550-9] (RIN: 2070-AB78) received April 25, 2000, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Agriculture.

7739. A letter from the Senior Banking Counsel, Office of the General Counsel, Departmental Offices, Department of the Treasury, transmitting the Department's final rule—Financial Subsidies (RIN: 1505-AA80) received March 22, 2000, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Banking and Financial Services.

7740. A letter from the Executive Director, Emergency Steel Guarantee Loan Board, transmitting the Board's final rule—Emergency Steel Guarantee Loan Program; Conforming Changes (RIN: 3003-ZA00) received April 25, 2000, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Banking and Financial Services.

7741. A letter from the General Counsel, Federal Emergency Management Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Changes in Flood Elevation Determinations [Docket No. FEMA-7309] received April 24, 2000, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Banking and Financial Services.

7742. A letter from the General Counsel, Federal Emergency Management Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Changes in Flood Elevation Determinations—received April 24, 2000, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Banking and Financial Services.

7743. A letter from the General Counsel, Federal Emergency Management Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Final Flood Elevation Determinations—received April 24, 2000, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Banking and Financial Services.

7744. A letter from the Assistant General Counsel for Regulations, Office of Post Secondary Education, Department of Education, transmitting the Department's final rule—Gaining Early Awareness and Readiness for Undergraduate Programs (RIN: 1840-AC82) received April 24, 2000, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

7745. A letter from the Director, Corporate Policy and Research Department, Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation, transmitting the Corporation's final rule—Lump Sum Payment Assumptions (RIN: 1212-AA92) received April 24, 2000, pursuant to 5 U.S.C.